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Had Zambri Peace?

THE United States bears a particularly grave share of the responsibility shared by the whole United Nations for the assassination of the mediator. For it was here that in the subway collecting boxes were rattled under commuters' chins: "Give a dollar and kill an Arab." And here that after each performance of Ben Hecht's propagandist play, youths were urged to join the army of Israel, and money was solicited to arm them. It was in the uniform of that army, operating an Israeli army jeep, that the four Jews murdered Count Bernadotte. And although the assassination took place in broad daylight, on the public street, all four men got away, and are still at large. That the Count was wholly impartial has been revealed by his report, which has reached the UN General Assembly in Paris, and confirms the existence of the State of Israel, while firmly placing the delimitation of its boundaries on the UN. The Count favored giving the whole of Galilee to Israel, while insisting on return or compensation for the Arab refugees.

Count Bernadotte's death is the most cogent possible argument for an international police force. There are too few men of his calibre for

the world to let them be butchered unprotected, and it is to be hoped that the UN will more adequately defend from Jewish terrorists Dr. Ralph Bunche, who valiantly succeeds his murdered chief. Tragic as is the Count's death, it may yet bring good to the cause of the United Nations, for the blood of the martyrs is still the seed of the church, and UN's place today, because of this killing, is in our hearts, not only in our minds. Because one man has died for the peace of all peoples, UN is become an emotional reality for every one of us, not merely an intellectual necessity. The savage in our nature, as well as the saint, is intensely aware of the value of human sacrifice, and perhaps there is hope for a new order of society, because, in the service of the world, the grandson of an American slave has gallantly succeeded the murdered grandson of a European king. The Paris Conference opens with an obituary, but in the fact that Bunche succeeds Bernadotte there is a presentiment of Christendom that explains Victor Hugo's romantic optimism of ninety-nine years ago.

For on August 22nd, 1849, he addressed the opening of the Paris meeting for universal peace, and for the establishment of a League of Nations. "This sacred idea," he said, "universal peace—is it practicable? . . . I answer 'Yes.' I add that it is inevitable, and that its execution is only a question of time, though it may be hastened or retarded. Men start out from conflict, as the creation from chaos. Whence are they coming? From wars, that is evident. But whither are they going? To peace—that is equally evident. A day will come when war will appear as absurd and as impossible between Paris and London, between Vienna and Turin, as it would be now between Boston and Philadelphia. A day is coming when . . . all of you nations . . . will, without losing your distinctive qualities, be blended into a superior unity."

Let us pray that the "Amen" said to these words will not stick in the throat of any one people, and that Israel will find that in murdering a world leader it has found an architect of its nation. And may that nation, so bloodily begun, become one of the cornerstones of world peace.

Water! Water!

UP TO NOW the argument from efficiency has prevailed in all assaults upon the increasingly dominant system of factories in the fields. There is something rather absurd, but hardly alarming, about the fact that the average American breakfast comes from eight hundred miles away or more. Seasonal employment on these high-powered acreages has resulted in bad rural slums, families without basic security or participation in the educational facilities which identification with a local community affords. But what would

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most of these people—many of them from south of the border—be doing otherwise? This type of cultivation might in time break down the fertility of the soil, but the enterprise could then move to another tract which it would again develop with typical, if specious, hyper-efficiency. For supplying the nation with food by the thousands of carloads there is nothing like well-scheduled mass production utilizing all the latest implements and techniques—and artificial fertilizers.

The beauty of it all is that the thing is so simple. A recent story in *Life* about the fabulous Imperial Valley in the extreme southeastern corner of California quoted a man from Georgia saying that back home they just prayed for rain; "here we just telephone for it." And the opportunities it offers! Mayor O'Dwyer's brother left Brooklyn fifteen years ago because his loading job at a local market hurt his feet. Out in the Imperial Valley "his trucks now move 20 carloads of lettuce, carrots and cabbage every day." The only thing is the condition of things at the other end of that telephone line.

The fairly mighty Colorado, which supplies that particular valley's irrigation ditches, *may* still prove sufficient, but such is hardly the story throughout the state. In the Central Valley the subsurface water table stands at 60 feet below its level of a quarter-century ago and, as irrigation is required there even in wet years, what remains is being pumped out three times as fast as it is being replaced. So many new wells have been drilled in Los Angeles and vicinity that the water table there is now below sea level and salt water is seeping into wells supplying thousands of acres of farm land. Lack of water underground has already returned hundreds of Arizona farms to desert; one-third of the remaining arable land there is similarly threatened.

The big worry is what will happen in the next drought. Last winter's dry spell in California dried up the state's pastures by March, forcing nearly all the big herds to be shipped away, crops to go unwatered and electric power to be cut by one-fifth. In Southern California 300,000 acres could not be irrigated this summer.

Construction of dams, reservoirs and canals has not anywhere near kept pace with the phenomenal increase in population, industries and agriculture the last decade in California. Even the two billion dollar, twenty-five-year construction program envisaged by the Bureau of Reclamation would be insufficient in times of drought. And so the famed sunshine which, with the war, has had so much to do with the present California boom, is also responsible for tremendous local difficulties.

Very little is offered in the way of remedies. There is a man in San Diego who—presumably on a small-scale and short-time basis—offers to act as a rainmaker shooting dry ice from a plane

into the right type of clouds. There are also vast reaches of the Pacific, but the cost of transforming them into fresh water is thus far prohibitive. But how about curtailing irrigation for California food factories and producing more fruits and vegetables, sheep and cattle on smaller acreages near centers of consumption the country over?

Georgia Peaches and Civil Rights

IN PASSING through Georgia not so long ago, we had nothing on our Northern minds more hostile than the prospect of looking over the quality and figure of those far-famed Georgia peaches. Our research was rewarding enough to leave us with a pleasant respect for Southern culture, a regard that suffered a bit last week with the news that another Talmadge will soon be the Governor of Georgia. Young Herman, following his father's tactics of manipulating the state's tricky county unit vote, which throws a heavy preponderance to the farm counties over urban centers, took the measure of incumbent Governor Thompson with a popular margin of about 30,000 votes. And Herman is apparently a chip off the old block: his white-supremacy talk is a bilious noise echoing his father.

Mr. Talmadge's vocal offerings rise up to mingle with the already gassy national oratory on civil rights, an issue that seems so far to have ended somewhere on the safe side of civil war. Most of this talk is indeed a sincere effort to clean house, to take up the slack in what appears, to most Northern minds, to be a racial-cultural lag in the South. But we wonder at times about our own strategy in all this; in their manner, some of our non-segregation zealots appear to us to be about as tactful as General Sherman stomping from Atlanta to the sea. It may be possible to convince Southerners by chastising them at a political rally; but their reply, in endorsing a Talmadge, is somehow too disappointing, and indicates rather desperately the amount of patient cultural education that remains to be done at home. It may be time to support our civil-rights Shermans with a little quiet rear-guard understanding.

Such an attitude should not be impossible to cultivate: already we have seen its necessity so urgently on the international scene that we have devised an exchange traffic of students between nations, and the hope of a cultural *vis-à-vis* lies at the bottom of such an organization as UNESCO. There need be no iron curtains here. Long-range these plans may be, but ultimately they are more hopeful and penetrating than red-faced tirades and tomato duels under a hot sun. An intensive translation of this international wisdom to our national life might give many of us a view of the Southern way of life other than that which is spread over our front pages by the Talmadges

and the Longs. And, after all, it must be a tired Yankee heart indeed that wouldn't be relieved and delighted a little by the refreshing oratory of a mellow drawl, Georgia peach style.

Denazification—Decommunization

BEFORE THE WAR against Hitler Germany, and constantly during its destroying course, the United States and the powers we were associated with proclaimed that we were friends of the German people and of their true interest and happiness, and enemies only of Hitlerites—of the nazi tyrants and corruptors and of the evil régime they ruled.

With victory, the conquerors put into operation the processes of "denazification," in order to eliminate the nazis and their régime and influence, and their threat to the world. Before the end of the war, the policy of persuading the German people to break with their régime and throw their lot in with us was a failure. Since V.E., denazification has involved such hard problems that thus far the most visible result is chaos. As a cornerstone of our policy it has central responsibility for the condition in Germany—which is the main element in the situation of Europe.

Now, using this German experience in an effort to learn proper action toward the Soviets, endless lessons stand out. First, and most important, that all-out war does not solve much problem. Second, that all submerged hypocrisy in preliminary propaganda is flagrant in action when success forces the issue. Third, that inadequate analysis of the problem before action leads to frustrating confusion when action is taken.

Who were the responsible nazis? The first denazification ruling for the US Zone alone condemned in that category more than 3,300,000 Germans, over a quarter of the local mature population. Such a wholesale, mass indictment required that definitions should be run into absurdity, and that the country, including any true or potential friends, should be harassed beyond anything practical. (What would it mean—over 50 million behind the Iron Curtain?)

Putting denazification into effect placed the denazifiers before unresolved paradoxes and dilemmas of their own democracy. One side of the democracy we are supposed to be propagating is the "civil rights" and "virtue" content. To be a democrat living in a democracy, a man is supposed to have a bill full of rights, and to act—and even talk and feel and think—according to some standard of sympathy and restraint and decency. On this same side, as roughly understood, is a complex of other more mechanical things democracy is said to mean: various kinds of equality and liberty and fraternity which enter into social and economic and political life. On the other hand, democracy involves the whole

business of the free and equal ballot, majority rule, parliamentary legislation, constitutional plebiscites, and other things that follow reliance upon "the voice of the people."

It was clear at first after the war in Germany, and it appears quite certain still, that the voice of the German people, if permitted to speak according to democratic principles and methods, would put in rule individuals who, according to popular home democratic standards, offended against democracy. Reducing the argument very much, democratic popular rule was at odds with democratic civil rights, and virtue, and liberty, equality, fraternity. The conception and mastery of democracy brought into Germany by its conquerors was not sufficiently clarified and developed to regulate the establishment of a good and solid democratic régime on the ruins of nazism.

We lacked an adequate, agreed definition of nazism. We did not—and do not—know what we are trying to get rid of in Germany. We demanded, fought for, and won "unconditional surrender," but that has proved to be primarily a formula for avoiding thought and decision.

To fight Soviet communism with the same negative failure to analyze what it is we are opposing, and the same positive error of failing to define what this democracy is which we are advocating, would be devastatingly tragic. We must seek no "unconditional surrender"—no victory, that is, which cannot be victory until the conditions are, in fact, roughly imagined. The way things are demands not simply one, but two explanations of American and Western purpose. First, in dealing with the Soviet Russian government: what are the minimum conditions we can accept to live in the world with that government, *laissez-faire, laissez-aller*? Our demands for this might well be very restricted and very few. It would take an almost unimaginable change in the Kremlin to grant them, anyway and accept peace, but they could still be framed to be possible in case there were, unexpectedly, good will or prudence. With the Russian-Soviet-Communist government in power, there could not be genuine peace of a deeper and more fraternal and co-operative kind. For genuine peace—and not only a nervous absence of overt warfare—we must approach Russia itself and the actual people who live under the Soviet yoke. A wider understanding would be offered and demanded to reach a truer peace. The objectives would still be carefully and strictly limited—but for the purpose of assuring the Russian people their maximum of freedom. The end of the totalitarian Communist régime would be put forward as the joint objective of both sides, and the means would be specified with our part marked out and properly bounded to prevent as much as possible exploitation and cruelty and unwarranted interference in the life and work of the Russian people.

The Psychiatrist at the Bar

Rudolf Allers

MR. CHARLES F. FULLER* wants the psychiatrist, or maybe the psychologist, to appear at the bar and to testify in regard to several interesting problems. Suppose one of these experts were called before a "Committee on Un-human Activities" and asked to answer Mr. Fuller's questions. He might proceed in such a manner:

Mr. Chairman: Before entering into any specific discussion of the points raised, I would like to argue that this whole investigation rests on an erroneous supposition. The questions I am expected to answer start with the idea that the problems submitted pertain and pertain exclusively to the domain of psychological and psychiatric knowledge. Mainly indeed to the former, since they refer to what we are accustomed to view as normal human behavior, whereas psychiatry is the science of the abnormal or diseased mind. It seems to me that such habits as those of people clustering together in big cities or even in Greenwich Village can hardly be called abnormal, however much one may disapprove of them. I am nonetheless willing to testify on these points because in recent times the dividing line between psychiatry and psychology has been so blurred that psychologists do not feel any reluctance about talking on problems of psychiatry, and psychiatrists have been known to make statements on facts pertaining to normalcy.

It seems imperative, as I see things, that one realize a widespread mistake concerning the relevance of psychological or psychiatric knowledge. I am the last to deny that this knowledge has developed considerably during the time, say, from nineteen hundred to now. Even though our knowledge concerning the mind is by far not so advanced as that concerning matter, we believe to know more about mental processes and states than we did a short time ago.

But it is this very knowledge which renders us keenly aware of certain limitations of our science. One may, indeed, define psychology as the science of human behavior. Human behavior, however, is the sum total of all responses on the part of an individual to the situation in which he finds himself engaged. This situation itself is not a matter of psychological inquiry. It is made up

of facts which are independent of the individual's mind and its functions.

It is, of course, true that a so-called objective analysis of a situation does not furnish us with a sufficient knowledge of its impact on an individual person. Not what objective analysis discovers, but what the apprehending mind envisions determines the kind of response. As philosophy has stressed always: everything is received according to the mode and nature of the receiver. As the situation of the blind differs from that of the seeing man, even though they find themselves under the same objective conditions, so it is with every person. His personal idiosyncrasies, dispositions, experiences, attitudes determine to a large extent what is relevant to him and hence conditions his responses.

Nevertheless, the material which enters the mind and determines the response is equally important. Hardly ever does the mind operate merely on its own; usually, the environmental factors act as co-determinants. If one takes account of these rather obvious facts, one realizes that no problem of human behavior can be solved by considering the subjective or mental side alone.

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If I may, for one moment, digress into the field of the history of ideas, I would say that the psychologists and psychiatrists of today are still under the influence of an idealistic philosophy, which may be traced back to Descartes. The famous axiom of the great French philosopher reads, as one knows: I think and therefore I am. In this proposition the fact is ignored that there can be no thought (a term which in Descartes covers any mental state whatsoever) without something of which it is the thought. A mental state can be described only, and understood only, if the "referent," as some modern authors say, or the "intentional object," as it used to be called, is considered too.

If these reflections are applied to the questions formulated by Mr. Fuller they lead up to the conclusion that he is asking too much of the psychiatrist or his psychological colleague. He apparently believes that the phenomena of urbanization are the products mainly, even exclusively, of mental factors. When he asks what sort of mental type makes people prefer Greenwich Village to open air and sun and nature, he implies that the "psychological type" is the sole determi-

*Dr. Allers refers to Charles F. Fuller's article "Man Against the Skyline," which appeared in the August 20th issue of THE COMMONWEAL.

nant of the social phenomena of which he so violently disapproves.

Perhaps my viewpoint will become clearer by illustrating it concretely. Take the fact of juvenile delinquency or, generally speaking, misbehavior, to which Mr. Fuller refers under the name of formation of "gangs." Demoralization, lack of parental supervision, decay of family life, weakening of religious convictions, bad methods of education, and many other facts have been made responsible. There can be no doubt that they all contribute. But there is another fact which in itself has nothing to do with the mind.

Mr. Fuller points out that "gangs" appear "in the most carefully nurtured public housing projects." He is of course quite right. His conclusion, however, that therefore the reasons must be sought in the field proper to psychology is open to question.

It is not a peculiar mental make-up which drives children and adolescents out into the streets and into the formation of gangs. It is rather the inadequacy of their homes. An inadequacy which is primarily one of space. Youth is entitled to meet youth. Children have to live with children. But the modern home makes such an association impossible. There is no room, even in the houses of more wealthy people, for the children, let alone for their being together with several other children of their age. The backyard, if there is one, but mainly the street, the drug store, the alley are the only places where they can meet and associate. It is not mere neglect on the part of the parents that the younger people are sent out; nor is it simply the wish of the older people to enjoy a little quiet. The parents somehow feel that the children have a right to be with other children of their own age. And there is no other way to have them come together but sending them out.

One could expatiate on this point at great length. But the few remarks I venture to submit may suffice to show that the problems are much more complex than their presentation by Mr. Fuller lets one suspect. These problems are not wholly problems of psychology; they are problems into which enter all the manifold aspects of contemporary life, economics, societal structure. It is asking too much of psychiatry that it provide the means of solution.

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Urbanization is not primarily a psychological problem. It is one of general sociology. The phenomenon of course creates psychological problems. And the psychologist may, eventually, submit suggestions about coping with the problems arising under the present conditions.

The first task of the psychologist is, if he approaches this problem, that of analysis. As soon

as he proceeds to investigate the situation he encounters factors which are not primarily mental. Only the mistaken subjectivism of Cartesian parcentage, to which I alluded above, makes it appear as if one had to deal with questions psychology is able to answer.

Man is a social animal. It is part of man's nature that he associate with others. In older times, this association was easily achieved. Neighborhood and cooperation afforded ample opportunity. Nowadays things have changed. People live within the same narrow space who have nothing in common with one another. It is obviously impossible to indicate, within the boundaries of such a statement, the factors at work. Let me only point out that the specification of occupations, the local distribution of the places where people work, the facility of communication, together with many other factors, become a hindrance for the establishment of more intimate human relations among people dwelling within a narrow region. Neighborhood has lost, in the cities, the significance it used to possess. The neighbor is just the man next door, but not the man with whom one is in touch. Telephone, subway, automobile have rendered communication so easy that neighborhood has lost almost all power to become a basis of human relations. One need not appeal to the neighbor, because it is as easy, or easier, to call on the telephone a person living at a greater distance. In rare cases of emergency one may still appeal to the neighbor, but no longer as a matter of course, but rather with many excuses and misgivings.

Association is thus removed from the home; few homes permit gatherings of a greater number of people. To get in contact with others, one has to "go places." The conditions prevailing there are not too favorable for the formation of genuine human relations. The effect is that people have to be content with some surrogative of such relations.

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Mr. Fuller wonders that the influx into the big cities continues and that many people prefer this urban life to what he considers a more healthy existence in touch with nature. He overlooks that the city, big or small, offers to people many means for passing their time and occupying their minds.

When during the war an appeal went out to adolescents not yet called to the service to help out on the farms, many volunteered. Of these a large number quit after a short time. Not because they found the work too heavy, but because they did not know what to do with their leisure time. The next town was too far; there was no gas for driving there; the small community where they stayed offered no amusement. This again

is not a question of psychology. It is one of general education. These young people had never been taught to be self-relying, to occupy their minds by their own effort. They were not accustomed to read, even less to think or to observe. They were not representatives of a peculiar psychological type; they were the products of the societal conditions.

Let me return to the principle of philosophy I quoted above. That everything affects the mind according to the nature of the latter. Hence, to ask what the influence of great architecture or other forms of beauty may be, is to misunderstand the question. Beauty affects only that mind which is prepared to recognize things beautiful. Listen to the comments the average visitor of a museum of art makes. He feels that he ought to look at paintings and statues. He has heard that others derive great joy from visiting a gallery. So he too looks in. But great art speaks a language he does not understand. He is, perhaps, interested in one or the other subject, hardly ever in the artistic aspect.

Dialogue in a gallery: Boy (looking into the catalogue) to girl, both standing in face of a portrait: "Now, this guy was quite famous in his days." Girl (referring to the person depicted): "Anyhow, she is ugly; let's get out." Such reactions are not dependent on any particular type. They are the products of education, or non-education, if one prefers.

It is not and cannot be the task of the psychiatrist, or the psychologist either, to propose other interests or goals. These sciences may suggest ways and means of achieving certain ends. But the ends are those of the times, of the public, and determined by the average societal circumstances.

It will seem, Mr. Chairman, that my statement is in no way what it was expected to be. It does not answer the questions submitted. But I may claim that this is not my fault nor that of the sciences in whose name I venture to speak. It is the fault of questions posited in a wrong manner and on the basis of erroneous assumptions.

This does not imply any criticism of Mr. Fuller's ideas. The mistake he makes he shares with many others. The problems he submits are real problems. But the answer must be found not by an appeal to psychiatry, not by an inquiry into psychological types, but by a comprehensive analysis of the prevailing human situation.

One may call such an investigation "scientific inquiry," provided that the name is taken in a sufficiently wide sense. It would be misleading, were one to believe that methods of investigation have to be fashioned on the pattern of science in the strict sense in which this name is used today. Mr. Fuller seems to share the opinion of many others that scientific inquiry can be spoken of only

when and where there is measurement and figures. He wants to know whether there are means to "measure" the influence of beauty. This idea is at least as old as Kant's philosophy. Kant indeed declared that a discipline deserves to be called science only inasmuch as "it contains mathematics."

Aristotle thought that every subject matter demands methods of inquiry appropriate to its nature. His view seems much more sensible. There is, and this may conclude my statement, no greater need today than that of a thorough and careful development of what has been aptly called "human studies."

The problems raised by the present situation of mankind are human problems. They must be solved by human means. Psychology and psychiatry may do part of the work, not all of it. Particularly, one ought not to overrate the power of psychiatry. Even though the study of the abnormal does throw some light also on normalcy, it is the latter which has to furnish the starting point. Health is not, as the physician easily believes, a minimum of disease. One cannot define the normal mind as that which does not necessitate the intervention of the psychiatrist.

Human studies means that man be envisioned in the totality of his being, as an organism indeed, but also as a mind, as a product of environmental forces but also as a self-responsible person, as a consciousness and a conscience, as a being under the compulsion to "adjust," but also as one able to reform his situation, as a citizen of this world and of that beyond. If one of these aspects of the human being is neglected, violence is done to human dignity, and the human studies then degenerate into their opposite. Any activity which fails to envision man in the fulness of his natural and supernatural being becomes then an "unhuman activity." *Videant consules.*

The Coronation

"Pay
me no compliments of olive, of rich ointment,
imperial appointment:
say
that, from this day
of my anointment,
I will lead all out who pray
me, from peril and disappointment . . .

though even
I be lost in clouds and planets,
on these vast untrammelled
star-quartzed granites
of the enameled
masonry of heaven

WILLIAM ALFRED

Christian Democracy in France?

An MRP founder on his
party's decline and its future

Claude Julien

FRANCE is a country of paradoxes. Although she has given to the world such men as Bloy, Huysmans, Péguy, Claudel, Maritain, she is the fatherland of the most violent anti-clerical and atheistic writers. Today in France the development of the most powerful Communist party of Western Europe co-exists with a most vital Catholic revival.

Ever since the French Revolution, most French Catholics have abandoned the working class to pagan influences and have identified themselves with the "forces of reaction." Those French Catholics who tried to break away from the conservative attitude were isolated intellectuals; Bloy or Lamennais, who were ignored or anathematized by their contemporaries; Péguy, whose *Cahiers de la Quinzaine* had but fifteen hundred readers; Bernanos, the "voice crying in the desert"; and even Maritain, who was recently attacked by a clandestine pamphlet as a "red prophet" and an "apostle of the collaboration with Moscow."

Throughout the Third Republic, Catholics concerned with important social reforms were but a ridiculously small minority. Before World War II, the *Parti Démocrate Populaire*, whose members were later to join the MRP, never exceeded twenty deputies. Their daily newspaper *L'Aube*, edited by Georges Bidault and Francisque Gay, had only fifteen thousand readers. And the weekly magazine, *Temps Présent*, organ of social Catholicism, was in perpetual difficulties because of lack of circulation.

After the liberation, however, a deep change suddenly occurred in French politics. In the elections of 1945, Catholics sent to the Parliament one hundred and fifty MRP deputies with a definitely leftist social and economic program. By June, 1946, the MRP had become the "First Party of France" with one hundred and sixty-nine representatives at the Palais-Bourbon. To quote Communist leader Jacques Duclos's favorite expression, French Catholics had lost the "congenital habit of being a political minority." For the first time in French history, they had broken away from their conservative tradition to vote "en masse" for a leftist program. One-third of the cabinet was composed of MRP ministers, who urged such socialistic measures as nationalization

of large industries and banks, heavy income tax, etc. Five million Catholic voters supported the MRP in its policies.

Then the about-face! As startling as its first success was the defeat of the MRP. At the municipal elections of November, 1947, it received only 12 percent of the total votes. Frightened by the fast growing strength of the Communist Party, many MRP supporters moved to the right in "self-defense" to join General De Gaulle. In the opinion of many moderate Catholics who at first followed Bidault's policy, the MRP had discredited itself by accepting offices side by side with the Communists in the government. Yet the real cause for such a disintegration of the party lies in its very nature.

The tremendous success of a movement such as *Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne*, with its five hundred thousand worker militants, seems to imply that the French Catholic Church is definitely concerned with the working class. Or, the Pastoral Letter of Cardinal Suhard, Archbishop of Paris, which insists on the necessity for Catholic Action more and more "pivoted on the working class," supports businessmen and captains of industry who "are working boldly . . . to renovate . . . the spirit and the structure of their enterprises by associating the workers with its management, its property, and its fruits." For his courageous attitude in social and economic matters, Cardinal Saliège, Archbishop of Toulouse, is known among both Catholics and Communists as "the bishop of the proletarians." The priests of the *Paris Mission*, the Dominicans of *Economie et Humanisme* and of the *Mission Prolétarienne* in Marseilles, the Jesuits of *L'Action Populaire*, and organizations such as the *Mouvement Populaire des Familles*, etc.—all these activities reveal a very audacious social spirit which attempts not to reform the existing society superficially, but rather, to change it at its very roots. Thus, while it may have been true in the 19th century that "the great scandal was that the Church had lost the working class," the evidence shows beyond a doubt that this cannot be alleged in France today. Nevertheless, while their *social* and *religious* movements are extremely progressive and far advanced to the left, French Catholics historically have favored reactionary *politics*.

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Today this paradox is likely the crucial point. Will Catholics give their support to General De Gaulle or to the MRP—such is the question which will decide the political trend in France during the coming months. Let me make it very clear: whereas in his various speeches, De Gaulle asks for the suppression of political parties and trade unions and the creation of a “corporate state” of the Mussolini type, the MRP stands against such a program. As revealed by various local and municipal elections, voters who in 1945-46 supported the MRP in its courageous plans for social and economic reforms, now are withdrawing their confidence and are acclaiming De Gaulle’s program.

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The success of the MRP has lasted for less than three years and now seems ready to disappear. Will it again be reduced to the ridiculously small size of the prewar *Parti Démocrate Populaire*? Will its program always attract only a small group of Catholic intellectuals? Can there be a true Christian Democratic party in France? History may help supply an answer.

In 1941 at the University of Lyon, Gilbert Dru—a student twenty-one years old—came forward as one of the great Resistance leaders. An editor of the underground’s largest newspaper, *Témoignage Chrétien*, with a circulation of 300,000, Dru was also co-editor of the well-known monthly magazine, *Cahiers de Notre Jeunesse*, which was outlawed by Laval in 1943 for its violent criticisms of the Vichy régime. Actually the key man of the student underground in Southern France, Gilbert Dru concentrated his efforts on the co-ordination of all Catholic forces in the fight for the Liberation.

For several years, he had been a national leader of the JEC movement, known in America as the Young Christian Students. He foresaw the spiritual and political consequences of the dark years of Nazi occupation. For him, the Liberation could be only the first step. Hence, he thought of the possibility of initiating after the Victory an intensive and widespread political action which would draw Catholics away from conservatism and place them in the forefront of the struggle for social and economic justice.

To find support for his idea, Gilbert Dru went to the General Committee of ACJF, Catholic Youth Association, which federates the movements known as JOC, JEC, JAC. I was then one of the nine members of this committee which had been thinking for several months along Dru’s lines. After formulating our conception of what this political action should be, we realized that we needed Georges Bidault’s support, because of his leadership of the pre-war *Parti Démocrate Populaire* and since he was in 1943 National Chairman of the Resistance Council. Favorable to ACJF because he had been in his youth one of its presi-

dents, Bidault received Gilbert Dru. After violently criticizing many of Dru’s ideas, Bidault finally was convinced.

Four of our Committee were delegated to work with Bidault on the organization of the new political movement: André Colin, our President, law professor at the Catholic University of Lille, now Secretary General of the MRP; Albert Gortais, who is in charge of the MRP *Bureau d’Etudes*; René Guyomard, head of the MRP propaganda service; and Maurice-René Simonnet who, at the age of twenty, was National President of JEC, at twenty-two founded the underground movement *Jeunes Chrétiens Combattants*, and today is one of the chief MRP Deputies. The other five of us remained in the non-political field of Catholic Action.

At the end of 1943, our friends organized the underground *Mouvement Républicain de Libération* MRL which, after the arrival of American armies in Paris, took its present name of *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (MRP). The idea was that the MRP should not be a *party*, but really a *movement* which would train militants and leaders all over the country. It was not only to appear on the stage for electoral campaigns when votes must be obtained, but also would be a permanent instrument for the organization of “spiritual” forces in French politics. I say “spiritual” instead of “Catholic,” for our intention was *not* to limit our action to the members of the Church; we knew that many Socialists, for example, had followed the doctrinal evolution of their leader Léon Blum. We hoped that an agreement was possible between progressive Catholics and humanist Socialists. We dreamed of a powerful, non-denominational, “humanist” center-left majority, inasmuch as before the war anti-clericalism had separated most Socialists from Social Catholics. Because the traditional anti-clericalism of the Third Republic seemed to be almost obsolete, we saw in 1944 the possibility of uniting with Socialists on social and economic agreements. Soon after the Liberation, it was evident that Socialists were also thinking of some kind of Labor Party with a wide participation of left-wing Catholics. Had such a *travaillisme* been actualized in a powerful organization, a center-left majority would have taken the place of the traditional center majority.

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From August, 1944, until the elections of October, 1945, the new and young MRP had time to organize itself on a nationwide scale. Members of the *Parti Démocrate Populaire* decided to follow Bidault. With the party machine still almost nonexistent, the MRP found most candidates for deputy among the young leaders of JOC, JEC, JAC, and finally succeeded in presenting lists in 88% of the departments. Although the young MRP candidates had received a good training in social, eco-

nomic, and labor questions, they were not prepared for politics. Yet this was the principal reason for their success during the first electoral campaign, for they seemed to bring with them the vision of a new Republic. Political chicanery and party collusion were unknown to them. Going before the public openly and in good conscience they easily supplanted the pre-war politicians. By June, 1946, the MRP was the largest party in France.

Contrary to what is stated in Gordon Wright's "*The Reshaping of French Democracy*" it became very strong in industrial areas: in the Northern coal mines four MRP deputies were elected, compared to two for the Communist Party; and the industrial city of Saint-Etienne sent three MRP deputies to the Parliament. However, since the extreme Right parties, which had been discredited by such men as Maurras and Laval, were not yet re-organized, many of their former voters chose the MRP as a lesser evil. Yet the MRP gained many votes from the Socialists and in general among the workers. In November, 1946, the leftist program of the MRP was confirmed by over five million Catholic voters. (The Communists meanwhile had gains in the country to offset their losses in industrial cities.)

The unexpected success of the MRP was sufficient to provoke attacks against so dangerous a newcomer: from the outside, the Communists did everything in their power to make a Socialist-MRP alliance impossible. For instance, the June, 1946, Communist campaign was directed against the Socialists. Fearing that it would no longer be considered as a true workers' party, the latter moved to the left, conceded many favors to Thorez's Marxist line, and began a stronger opposition to the MRP. The main difficulties, however, arose from the inner constitution of the MRP.

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As a new arrival on the political scene, the MRP was in a very uncomfortable position. Not too sure of what orientation it had to take, uncertain of its political supporters, and not strong enough to offer the Government a stable majority, the MRP had to find a political ally. This ally could only be the Socialist Party. Unfortunately, Socialist leaders were very much in the situation of Buridan's Ass and, as a cartoonist expressed it, between the MRP's *holy water* and the Communist *priest eaters*. Socialists procrastinated so much that by the end of 1946—starving like Buridan's Ass—they begged for MRP friendship, until Socialist Premier Ramadier let the Communists out of the Cabinet. In the meantime, hesitations on the part of the Socialists provoked moves of the MRP which, afraid of losing its only possible ally, was willing to make more and more concessions. At the same time, it did not want to lose De Gaulle's secret blessing. Thus was the MRP line progressively distorted. The clear-cut program which had given it strength in the first elections

was diluted by all kinds of compromises which baffled its supporters.

My first criticism is that from a *movement*, the MRP has become the *party* it did not want to be. Since it had positions in the Cabinet, its leaders wanted to keep their places, but their tight-rope position did not make the task at all easy. At its inception, one of the main purposes of the *movement* was to remain in permanent contact with the electorate in order to "educate the voters." But it soon began to act as any party anxious for prestige. That is, it used all means of propaganda—morally good or bad—to gather supporters not for a program *for* something, rather for a program *against* something. While anti-Communism was the easy and efficient way to gain supporters, it did not supply the MRP with better ideas for positive action.

The impossibility of maintaining a tight-rope policy was to be demonstrated in a somewhat amusing but convincing way by MRP President Maurice Schuman. In October, 1946, in a speech delivered at Epinal, General De Gaulle clearly stated that he himself would answer *No* to the constitutional referendum. The MRP, however, was in favor of the submitted constitution. President Schuman then used his most clever college rhetoric to demonstrate that when De Gaulle said *No* he really meant *Yes*. He continued such stupid logical gymnastics until Bidault silenced him.

The MRP did not stop here in its efforts to save face at any cost and to remain in power. In August, 1946, the Passy Affair, which political commentators compared to the Dreyfus Affair, was revealed to the public. Passy, who was head of the DGER—the Intelligence Service created by De Gaulle in London during the exile—was accused of embezzlement, and jailed, July, 1946. Since no books were kept during the underground period, the accusation was difficult to substantiate. As in the Dreyfus Affair, no definite proof of Passy's guilt was ever given. His trial was postponed for months and months. Regardless of the truth of the charges against him, said various newspapermen, Passy should not be kept in jail unless they could be proved. At that time—it is well to note—the three ministers who had jurisdiction over Passy belonged to the MRP: Bidault, Prime Minister; Teitgen, Minister of Justice; and Michelet, Minister of Armies. Through some press communiqués, however, the affair was in time hushed up. Practically speaking, Passy could not be tried since as former head of the DGER, he knew too much about crucial questions such as the De Gaulle-Giraud conflict in Algiers, the assassination of Admiral Darlan, the execution of Minister Pucheu, etc. In the Dreyfus Affair, the *reason of state* was invoked in order to tolerate an injustice, whereas in the Passy Affair, *reason of party* had come before justice.

An often quoted expression of Charles Péguy

states very clearly the process followed by the MRP: "Everything," said Péguy, "begins in *Mystique* and ends in *Politique*." And we know what peculiar meaning he gives to the term *politique*. During the underground, the MRP was born in the generous mind of Gilbert Dru who, absolutely faithful to his mystique, was to die at the hands of the Nazis. Three years later, there was no longer a question of mystique. The interests of the party became the justification of the means used by the MRP leaders.

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In the fields of constitutional problems, diplomacy, economic reorganization and reconstruction, and finances, etc., the failure of the MRP was more pronounced. One skilled diplomat, Bidault; two prominent jurists, de Menthon and Teitgen; and one financial expert, Robert Schuman, were of immense help, but they are not sufficient for a powerful party with over five million voters. Yet top MRP leaders once thought of working out the nation's problems by imposing a strict party discipline. For the flexibility of the *mouvement*, they substituted the monolithic structure of the *party*. No longer trying to convince its followers, the MRP tried to impose on them the party line. That the effort has failed is clearly evident:

1. In foreign affairs, Bidault succeeded in maintaining his viewpoint until last year when he was obliged to give it up. The main concession he made concerned the Rhineland. At the same time, however, he has allowed 300,000 German war prisoners to remain in France—three years after the end of the war.

2. The official MRP monthly magazine, *Politique*, printed in November, 1944, a detailed article in which the MRP views on the future constitution were delineated. Of all the points mentioned in the article—written by a party official—only minor ones were introduced by the MRP in the final draft of the Constitution given to France in 1946. The party was not strong enough to make its voice heard.

3. While much has been accomplished in the field of economic reconstruction, little credit can be given to the MRP. As Mr. Wright points out in his book, the Communist Party and the Communist-led trade union, CGT, were (in 1945-46) the chief agents of an effort to increase production. I am aware, however, that the MRP does not have at its disposal a powerful union such as the CGT, for the Catholic trade union has only one-tenth the membership of the CGT and is remarkable for its timidity and passivity. The lack of a powerful and vigorous trade union has been one of the more severe handicaps of the MRP in gaining support for economic reforms.

4. The financial reform of MRP Prime Minister Robert Schuman had many excellent qualities before its enforcement. But again, as a consequence of the concessions which the MRP felt obliged to make to both the Socialists and the Right Wing, the plan finally evolved into an emasculated form which sponsored at the same time such Socialist measures as the exchange of bank notes for a control of private

wealth and such conservative measures as the re-establishment of a free gold market.

Pages and pages of such facts could be cited to show the failures of the MRP in regard to the Colonial Empire (now called French Union), freedom of education, statutes of political parties, statutes of the press, etc. Failures, however, are not the important aspect of the problem, for no party can realize its program completely. Even when it has a majority, the party must consider and respect the minority or minorities. When a party is too weak fully to realize its program, it must follow what is known as the "policy of presence." That is, to remain in office with the purpose of inserting in the government program as much of its own program as it can. Such a minority party acts as a moderator.

After three years of tri-party government—rejecting the policy of presence as defended by Bidault—some of the MRP leaders began to doubt the feasibility of ruling a country with a coalition system. They reasoned that the MRP position was impossible to maintain since the party needed the support of Socialists for the end of social and economic reform and since it was forced also to consider the program of De Gaulle in order to please rightist groups. Labeled as Marxist when it voted with the Socialists, the MRP was accused of reaction and conservatism when it mixed its bulletin votes with those of the Right wing. Sooner or later, the MRP had to choose one or the other side. Hence the divisions within the party itself. Last November, for objecting to Bidault's theory, three important national leaders were expelled from the MRP ranks. Among them were M. Michelet, former MRP Minister of Armies and M. L. Terrenoire, editor of the MRP daily newspaper, *L'Aube*. Both of them joined Stanislas Fumet, editor of *Temps Présent*, to found the De Gaullist weekly newspaper *A Présent*.

Reacting to this attitude, some Catholics moved farther to the left by following Emmanuel Mounier, well-known philosopher, editor of *Esprit*. These Catholics constitute what might be called a sort of Christian Socialism. Considering these two opposed tendencies among Catholics, it becomes clear that a party such as the MRP will be unstable as long as it calls mainly upon Catholic voters.

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To understand the divisions among Catholics, one must remember that authoritarian power has a strong appeal within the French Catholic Church. Most followers of Charles Maurras were Catholics—both among the faithful and in the hierarchy. Maurras' condemnation by the Vatican did not free the minds of his followers from the theories of *Action Française*. The fact that many Catholics are still unconvinced democrats appears clearly in the Catholic Press as well

as in the hesitations of Catholic voters who moved from the MRP to De Gaulle's RPF. In such a situation, any party officially or unofficially Catholic must remain extremely weak.

Another important reason for the weakness of the MRP is that whereas Catholic senators and deputies before the war found most of their support in rural areas among peasant populations, now—due to twenty years of efforts by Catholic Action worker movements, especially the JOC—many Catholic votes come from industrial cities. Although the strong opposition between social classes in France has been considerably attenuated by the war and by the occupation years, it still remains strong enough to oppose farmer interests to worker interests. This opposition reached its climax at the time of the Assembly debate on price regulation: within the MRP, deputies elected in rural areas violently disagreed with their colleagues from industrial districts. Such an opposition is inevitable under the present economic circumstances, for a party whose basic principles within the electorate are so disparate.

The last reason for the lack of unity among Catholics—and within any Catholic party—poses a serious problem to Catholic Action movements. Considered both by Catholics and Communists as the most important sociological event in France during this century, these movements have had a deeper and more widespread influence than any political party. To remain in their own field, however, Catholic Action movements must be non-political. The training they give as well as their action are confined to the spiritual, cultural, and social order. While they contribute to a certain unity in the sense that they teach all their members to pose and to study the problems of their milieux in the same terms, they do not compel their members to seek the same practical solution, for the full freedom of Catholics in the temporal order is respected. Consequently, when former Catholic Action leaders or militants come to discuss political questions such as a system of taxation or industrial reform, they favor different solutions, even though they keep referring to the same general principles. Whence again the inner division of the MRP.

Trying to swim between two waters, the MRP has been submerged in the ineffectual tradition of French parties under the Third Republic. To be successful, it would have had to choose once and for all—instead of perpetually oscillating between left-right and right-left policies. One mistake derived from its belief that there are "Catholic interests" to protect. But in defending what it considered the highest interests of Catholics—the freedom of Catholic schools—the MRP failed, for Catholic schools belonging to nationalized coal mines were placed under state control.

The younger elements within the MRP, however, are still convinced that their rôle is not to

create or to protect Catholic institutions or structures, but rather to transform from within all institutions and structures. This is possible only if there is no special group to appeal to all Catholic candidates and all Catholic voters. While the MRP has been intelligent enough not to take a religious label, it has become a Catholic ghetto—a fortress, yes, but also a prison for those who are within and a scarecrow for those who are without. Will the younger MRP deputies be able to change this situation and transform their party into a non-religious labor party, as it was meant to be? This possibility is not to be excluded.

Following the doctrine of Emmanuel Mounier, the young MRP deputies are again thinking along the lines of Gilbert Dru's original conception.

At the last MRP National Congress in Toulouse, Gilbert Dru's friends, such as Colin and Gortais, were heartily acclaimed for the reports they presented. Although three years ago Colin and Gortais were viewed as "young and inexperienced politicians" whose advice had no great value, most MRP deputies have begun to recognize their past mistakes, and the prestige of Colin and Gortais is increasing within the party. If the new orientation of the party continues, very likely the MRP will no longer be a *party*, but again a *movement*.

Secularism in Church

DANIEL M. CANTWELL*

ON THE TOMB of the nineteenth century Pius XI wrote this epitaph: "The tragedy of the nineteenth century is that the Church lost the working classes." That truth still stands as the challenge of the Church in the twentieth century.

We have not really met the challenge. Secularism in the society in which we live proves that we have not. For it is foolish to think that secularism is the product only of those who have denied or rejected God and not the product also of Christians who have rejected the temporal order.

The roots of secularism find nourishment in our Catholic hearts. The roots of secularism stem from our Catholic schools, too.

It seems to me that anything that can be said about secularism in public schools can be verified to some degree in Catholic schools. There is secularism in our teachers, secularism in our students, secularism in our classrooms, secularism in our curriculum, secularism in our extra-curricular activities, secularism in our treatment of Negroes, secularism in our teaching of religion, secularism in our worship even.

There is secularism in our teachers because they haven't

* Taken from an address, delivered by Father Cantwell to the Dominican Sisters at the Sinsinawa Secondary School Conference, River Forest, Ill.

continued to read and re-read the social letters of the Popes. A perfunctory reading long ago in a sociology course was not enough. We haven't studied or heeded the problems of our day. We have gone on as though there were no industrial revolution, no giant corporations, no oppression, no widespread dispossession of the multitudes, no grinding down of workers. We have gone on content to teach the eternal truths, while the temporal life of the multitudes was cruel, inhuman, and hopeless. We have repudiated, we are uninterested in, the social and democratic movements all about us, with a disconcert that claims to be rooted in religion. And the dispossessed in turn who are concerned for social reform and democracy—political and economic—have repudiated religion, and they have done it in the name of human liberty. Both of these repudiations are still going on. In Europe the results are already being seen; in America they are not yet so apparent. But they will be. At any rate our own repudiation has come from a narrow view of Christ, the incarnation, and human life.

There is a hope that we might yet heed words like those of Cardinal Saliège, of Toulouse:

A Catholic (education) which functions in a closed circle does not produce results. It can make pious Catholics. It does not form courageous Christians, who fear neither risk nor adventure.

A Catholic (education) which is limited to the spiritual and the supernatural has not got its feet on the ground. We live in the temporal world, the material world. If we forget this we play into the hands of materialism (secularism).

Man is spirit and matter. Matter is created by God, a gift of God, and as such has a high value of its own. We live in the temporal. Social pressure works in the temporal sphere. Our brain is matter, living matter, of course, but matter which is not spirit. It, too, works in the temporal sphere. We are not angels.

Catholic (education) cannot act unless it takes flesh in temporal institutions, the spirit incarnate in matter. . . . Those who guide it are not cut off, they do not form a pious congregation; . . . they are sources of action, springs of initiative, creators of institutions.

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Secularism has fashioned our idea of the Church. We still think and talk of it as a bureau, as an organization. We see its strength in numbers and in Catholics in high places—political and economic—rather than in the Holy Spirit molding individuals and institutions. We see it less as Christ, extending Himself in men and women, living in them His Divine Life, than we do as a series of political and economic states which we have come to call Christendom and Catholic countries. We see it less as the Living Christ to be saved for men than as real estate and buildings to be preserved against revolution. We give the impression that our fear of Communism is a concern for the Church as an organization, rather than a fear for the lives and heritage of the people; and the reason we give that impression is that we have not yet raised a loud voice against the cruelty and abuses of the present social system: the bad housing and widespread ugliness of indus-

trial centers, the domination of machines, wage levels that find fifty-two percent of the families in Chicago not getting enough for health and decency, insecurity, hand-to-mouth existence with the poorest half of all families in 1946 having only three percent of all savings in the United States and with twenty-nine percent having none at all. But we haven't objected to the present system. The system and those who set its policies tip their hat to us, are reverential, are congenial, are not above using us for their own purposes—and we find it flattering. But the system is inhuman and corrupt—in its own way filled with hypocrisy and practical atheism.

We look to the public schools for secularism and we find it in their lack of religious atmosphere. I sometimes feel that secularism begins with us in our religion classes and in our religious atmosphere. Secularism is individualistic, has fragmentalized the world, has destroyed social institutions, has robbed us of all moral incentive for reconstructing the social order. Our religion and our religious atmosphere is individualistic and fragmentalized. Even at the altar we are a self-centered people. We are novena-conscious, with the acquisitive spirit of the capitalistic world, but there is little of adoration, reverence, praise, sacrifice, dedication as responsible and adult Christians. Where are the schools that have done much for the restoration of the corporate worship of the Mystical Body? Where are the schools that have made a worshipful community out of the students and teachers? Where is the Eucharist the Sacrament of Unity? Where is the chant, where is sung prayer? Still, Pius X, fifty years ago, said that the liturgy is the primary and indispensable source of the Christian spirit. And Pius XII has urged us "back to the altars" because only there will we learn the majesty of God and service of Him for His own sake, learn what sacrifice means, what justice and charity mean, what man means and human rights.

Secularism confuses morality with social respectability. In my experience girls come from our schools more convinced about the "evil" of smoking than about the evil of signing racial restrictive covenants to keep Negroes out of our neighborhoods. After all, suppose every girl in our schools smoked, would it be comparable to the genuine evil of having even one of them leave unconvinced about the sin of racial segregation, of refusing to join a labor union, of paying their domestic help less than a living wage?

Secularism confuses morality with rationalization. The bourgeois mind has a rationalization for every evil of modern society. And we in turn must be careful that our treatment of principles does not sound like a rationalization of the present social order. For example, when we defend the private property system we must be careful to show the difference between the corner grocer and the giant corporation, to show that we do not defend the present system but intend to defend the necessity of some ownership for everyone. We must make the same distinction made by Pope Pius XII: "In defending the principle of private property the Church does not intend to defend absolutely and simply the present state of affairs, as if she saw in it the expression of God's will, nor to de-

fend as a matter of principle the rich and the plutocrat against the poor and the indigent."

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To distort or to exaggerate in teaching the moral law is to jeopardize the whole law. It is to make the whole law look ridiculous, when students come to give sober consideration to what we have said or have failed to say. And, granted that there is always need for delicately trained consciences, surely there is no longer any place for remarks like: "Would Our Blessed Lady smoke?" or "Would she chew gum in public?" It is much more important that we ask: "Would she sign a restrictive covenant?" or "Would she refuse to join a labor union?"

Secularism has fashioned the student's idea of their own lives. It does so because it continues to fashion our idea of vocation. Vocation is still synonymous with entering a convent. We direct our major attention towards those two or three girls who have inclinations for the convent. We rival among ourselves for getting the greatest number. The other girls are quite aware of the value we place on their lives—in the world.

Recently we have begrudgingly conceded that marriage is also a vocation, though too frequently we have continued to regard it as a sort of necessary evil, a grant to human weakness, a rather embarrassing sacrament. Our concession has not entirely cleared the atmosphere. We are still not clear about the essential vocation of every Christian to be an apostle everywhere, still not clear about our vocation of incarnating the Love of God in individuals and in social institutions. We leave our students without a vision or a task to fill up those years after they leave school and before they are married. The majority of them are going to work, but the work too frequently becomes something to pervert them. We leave a void in their lives which is filled up only by the overpowering drive to "marry well," which too often means marrying money or position.

Whatever sacrifice they learn has no relationship to their lives as lay men and women in the world. We have not told them that there is an unselfish work to be done for Christ today in shops, offices, homes, market-places, and neighborhoods. We have not told them about the front-line of the Church's life, which Pius XII says is the laymen's world. We have not told them that the front-line is no longer, if it ever was, in convents, or rectories, or ecclesiastical councils where minute points of dogma are studied and decided. The battleground today is the laymen's world where the enemy is paganism and not heresy, where the immediate question is social immorality and not dogma.

Secularism has affected our idea of sanctity and has watered down the version of it we give to lay people. We have tried to create two groups of Christians, one given to contemplation, the other given to action. It is a specious spirituality for ourselves, it robs lay people of the spiritual depth which their lives in the world must have. Pius XII has said that contemplation and action are the team for every Christian life. That has implications for all of us.

Secularism has made us talk to lay people as though all that we expected of them was to keep out of mortal sin. It has made us talk of the beatitudes not as a pattern for living but as counsels of perfection, not as something for the many but as something for the few. Nonetheless, it was to the multitudes that Christ spoke them, and to them that He said: "Be ye perfect as your Heavenly Father is perfect."

We need an asceticism for lay people, but it will not take the same form as for a nun. The young novice can be ascetic in her own way by staying in the quiet of her room once in a while, but the young working girl is also ascetic in her own way when she attends her union meeting regularly and helps with its work. The sister is ascetic when she sacrifices some of the companionship of her community once in a while for a long visit to the Blessed Sacrament, but the young wife is ascetic in her own way when she sacrifices the companionship of her husband and stays home to mind the children while he attends his union meeting or a local political rally. She is ascetic when she encourages him to do so and doesn't nag. Too many of our girls are self-centered and selfish and poorly trained to be the wives of ordinary working men.

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Possibly at this point I should interject that many of these remarks were prepared through contact with employers, Communists, and young workers who have come from our schools: employers who have said that they liked to hire the graduates of Catholic schools because from them they would expect no trouble—"trouble" meaning agitation to form unions, etc.; Communists who have feared little from the graduates of Catholic schools because they knew them to be inert, helpless, void of positive direction, uninformed and unimpressed by the social injustices about them; young workers, young men and young women who have come from our schools, to whom I addressed the question: "What would you want to tell your old teachers if you were going back to talk to them?"

The young workers asked me particularly to cry against the "success ideal" given them at school. There is too much social climbing in the atmosphere, too much emphasis on getting ahead, making money, getting on top in school and in adult life. In subtle ways an attitude is communicated to young girls that they are almost a failure if they marry a manual worker, and to young men that they are a failure if they end up as manual workers. The successful members of the alumnae (or the alumni)—the ones who are invited back, the ones who feel that they can come back—are those who marry "well," those who marry money or social position.

We have failed to emphasize service in school or in adult life, service for the common good even at the sacrifice of higher marks now and of money later on. Why must all of our students become white collar workers? Does getting an education mean that they are freed from the indignity of soiling their hands? When are we going to train students who will become apostles among the workers by becoming workers and remaining workers?

Secularism has robbed us of our vision of the human family, has given birth to race hatred, race pride and interracial injustice. It has robbed us of the vision, described by Pius XII, "which makes us see the human race in the unity of one common origin in God, 'one God and Father of all, Who is above all, and through all, and in us all; in the unity of the nature which in every man is equally composed of material body and spiritual, immortal soul; in the unity of dwelling place, the earth, of whose resources all men can by natural right avail themselves, to sustain and develop life; in the unity of the supernatural end, God Himself to Whom all should tend; in the unity of means to secure that end.'"

The restoration of this vision will mean that we will do more than begrudgingly decide that we will admit Negroes to our schools if they come. We must do more than be coldly just, more than merely accept them. The restoration will mean that the warmth of Christ's love will be found in us, in our schools, in our students. It will mean that we will open the doors wholeheartedly, that we will seek Negro students, that we will offer scholarships. And I would hope that we would offer not just one for face-saving purposes, but a dozen for the love of Christ.

What I have said has been critical, but critical of something very precious. What I have said indicates that there is much work to be done, more than we like to think about. To be discouraged would be to be overcome by the secularistic spirit at the outset. For my part "I am glad," in the words of Pius XI, "to be alive in the twentieth century, for in the twentieth century it is impossible for a Christian to be mediocre."

The Screen Two for the Money

WE ARE fortunate this week in having a couple of imports to consider—imports that are so good that they should cause Hollywood film makers to look to their laurels.

Perhaps the thing for which Laurence Olivier deserves most credit is that he dared to film the play that is generally considered the greatest play of all. But instead of being smothered in awe, vainglory and presumption, Olivier approached "*Hamlet*" sanely and imaginatively, and has made a film that is both good theater and good cinema. He collected a cast who could act as well as handle the difficult lines; he settled on extremely simple sets (the heavy stone of Elsinore Castle decorated with a few handsome tapestries and occasional chairs); he allowed a moving camera to capture the mood as a whole and to concentrate on close-ups, particularly in soliloquies, that aid considerably in conveying the meaning of the famous lines; and the result is an extraordinarily beautiful movie and an unusually fine "*Hamlet*."

Devotees of Shakespeare may be annoyed that some of the lines have been cut, even some of the good ones; but when you see this movie you realize that you do not miss them; the play's the thing, and the meaning of the play is all there; furthermore the original had to be cut to

make a movie of two hours and thirty-five minutes. My greatest argument with Olivier is in his interpretation of Hamlet himself who is well established in the film as a man who could not make up his mind, and then is portrayed by Olivier as a man with a delightful sense of humor and a confidence in himself that belie the gloomy Dane. Not that I object to the movie's humorous touches; they serve their purpose and are well handled; but in Hamlet himself they indicate a sound attitude that this indecisive man did not have.

As a whole however this film is too good for caviling. What really does impress you as you watch the characters progressing toward their tragic end is the beauty of Shakespeare's lines and their fitness even to our times. Perhaps we know more about psychology now, but we are not stating what we know any better. It would be difficult in this short review to give due praise to all the members of this worthy cast; but, as well as to Olivier, the director and actor, applause should go to Jean Simmons for her lovely portrait of Ophelia who comes closer to being a real person than in any other Ophelia performance I have seen, to Eileen Herlie whose portrayal of the Queen-mother, in spite of her youth, adds a sensuous note to the play, to Basil Sydney for his meaningful interpretation of the King, to Norman Wooland for his warmth and understanding in the role of Horatio, a role that is always sympathetic but not always so well played.

It would also be difficult to list all the good things about this "*Hamlet*"—the lively duel scenes, the polished handling of the play-within-the-play, the graveyard sequence, all those remarkable soliloquies. Perhaps the best thing I can do is to advise you to see it for yourself. You will agree that a good cinematic technique does not detract from a masterpiece, but adds to it. The camera and sound track will contribute to your enjoyment and appreciation no matter how well you know this play.

André Gide is not Shakespeare, so no one expects the French movie made from his "*Symphonie Pastorale*" to be "*Hamlet*." But his French film stands up well on its own. It is mainly remarkable for its restrained telling of a story that could have been a flashy excursion into the seamy side of life. Instead it is exactly what its title says. A pastor in the Swiss Alps adopts and cares for a blind mountain girl; he soon accepts the taming and educating of the girl as his special problem and duty, somewhat to the neglect of his wife and his own children. But it is not until years later that this unselfish man, whose nobility the film stresses again and again, comes to realize that he has fallen in love with this lovely creature for whom he worked so patiently.

Director Jean Delannoy tells this story quietly and simply in a gorgeous mountain setting which in its winter scenes is particularly appropriate to the slowly tightening theme. Seldom does a film handle such a story in such an adult manner; this one is especially fortunate in its cast; Michele Morgan as the blind girl, Pierre Blanchard as the pastor, Line Noro as his wife, Jean Desailly as his eldest son who also falls in love with the girl, and others in minor rôles. This expertly-made picture reaches its climax when the girl realizes that she is the cause of the

unhappiness that has come to the family who befriended her; and while the ending comes as no surprise I think it is the film's greatest weakness—just as if its designers didn't know how to carry on, how to solve the dilemma into which they had so realistically conducted this group of mortals. In spite of its ending, however, "Symphonie Pastorale" is an unusual movie, one of which the French might be proud and which Hollywood might envy.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

The Labor Movement

Reform Begins at the Plant Level

THERE has been talk the last few years about the Industry Council Plan and how it is a good practical application of the "vocational group" ideas of the Popes. The CIO has pushed it and so has the ACTU and so have most of the Catholics who recognize the authority of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

This last agency has just made a Labor Day Statement that contains another eloquent appeal to the US government to promote Industry Councils.

The way things are going, it looks as though it will remain just another eloquent appeal. Even if Truman is re-elected, which seems unlikely, it is doubtful if he will do what the NCWC urges, namely, "call together the responsible leaders of labor, management, agriculture and the professions and encourage them to plan together, with government assistance and in full view of public representatives, for the common good of their respective industries or professions and for the general economic welfare of the nation as a whole."

If Dewey does it, it will be even more surprising. The reluctance of these men is based partly on their certainty that American businessmen will not, at this stage of the game, yield enough of their power to make such a plan workable. Dewey probably doesn't think they should. Truman might think they should, but after the election campaign he will be too exhausted for a long time to come to summon up the energy to try to make them do it.

This column has done its share of talking about the Industry Council Plan, as seen from above, to the exclusion of other approaches. But what about the approach from below? As Catholics we are supposed to be up on the Principle of Subsidiarity, a terrible phrase which means that those functions which can be performed by smaller associations (families, unions, cities, employer associations) should not be taken over by higher associations such as the State. This is a basic principle in Catholic political and economic theory and one of the best we've got. Its emphasis on decentralization should lead us to consider the plant even before we consider the industry.

In other words, why don't we try a little harder to apply the Industry Council Plan on the plant level while we're waiting around for a sympathetic government to show up? And while we're waiting around—which will be an even longer wait—for the dominant section of American business to reach the point where they are willing to share the management of industry with labor and the public.

During the war there were close to 3,000 Labor-

Management Committees set up in American industry to increase production in the interests of a quick victory over Hitler. Recently the Bureau of Labor Statistics sent out questionnaires to the companies where these committees had functioned. They got back 944 replies, and of these, less than 300 reported that the committees were still operating in the interests of a quick victory over inflation and the class war. Of these 223 were union plants and 64 non-union.

Nevertheless, 287 Labor-Management Committees are still 287 more than the number of industry councils we have operating at the present time. Jack Adams of the Manhattan Refrigerating Co.—may his tribe increase—is trying hard to get a council started in the food refrigeration industry. That will be the first one that we have heard of.

Isn't it logical that these councils will come much faster if we can develop a larger body of labor leaders and employers who are convinced that cooperation (with honor) is possible because they have seen it work on the plant level?

The more popular name for these committees now is Joint Production Committees. The average one has 6 to 10 members and meets once a month, though some get together as often as three times a week. They discuss and act on the following questions, in order of their popularity: safety, production, employee suggestions, absenteeism, health, care of tools, recreation, time standards, job training, job evaluation and welfare plans. The BLS doesn't say whether or not any of them have discussed the question posed by Eric Gill and *The Catholic Worker*, namely, "Can mass production be reconciled with the demands of human personality?" At least not in those words.

By the way, Gill and *The Catholic Worker* deserve credit for posing that question, which is most important, but they deserve less credit for their illogical assumption that the answer is "no." It is really tragic that so many young zealots have been sold on the more romantic and intolerant editions of agrarianism without first asking either themselves or Dorothy Day the question: "How do you know the answer is 'no' when you cannot point to one example of an industrial enterprise that has earnestly and intelligently tried to reconcile the two, and failed?"

It is possible that a firm could be found that had to go under because it could not reconcile them and still compete with its unreconciled rivals. Then the question would be, "Would this firm have failed if the whole economy were organized to favor such firms?" To paraphrase Chesterton, Christian industrialism hasn't failed because it has never been tried.

What evidence there is indicates that the reconciliation can be made by men who have the mind, the heart and the will to do it. The Joint Production Committee and the Industry Council are steps along the way. Of these the Committee is the first step and perhaps we should concentrate on walking before we run. Actually, we must concentrate on every opportunity that presents itself. If someone asks us to straighten out the national economy, let's not refuse the invitation because the plant-life is not yet entirely healthy. The point is that there are more opportunities on the plant level. "Let us not be high-minded, but consent to the humble."

JOHN C. CORT

CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Inter-American Catholic Social Action

REPRESENTATIVES of 19 American countries meeting in the third Inter-American Conference on Catholic Social Action, at Rio de Janeiro, agreed on a series of resolutions which summarized their deliberations. The diocesan press gives the substance of five major resolutions:

1. A suggestion to member organizations that special attention be given to agricultural problems in their countries, looking toward formation of family-sized farms, protection of the family farm with credits and guarantees that farms would not be excessively economically divided.
2. An appeal to all member nations to permit the greatest immigration of displaced persons possible, so that they might be assimilated into a program of small farms.
3. A dual consideration of labor's problem, touching upon industrial councils and individual organization. It was recommended that the industry council system be adopted in the Americas.
4. Advocacy of co-operatives to nurture "the consciousness of community . . . which will find expression in the traditional Catholic form, both in city and rural life." The conference recommended three forms of co-operative—the consumers', to furnish food, clothing and the like; the producers', both in the cities and as a restorative for rural community life; and the credit, or people's bank.
5. Adoption of a broad-scale program of social education.

Brazilian Argument in Conservation Conference

IN THE Inter-American Conference on the Conservation of Renewable Resources, South American delegates took the lead in opposition to birth control as a major tool for conserving the earth's natural resources. The *Inland Register* reports the lead given by Brazilian Ambassador Mauricio Nabuco:

"Birth control is not the solution," Nabucco declared. . . . After pointing out that birth prevention is unacceptable to Catholic Latin America, the Ambassador asserted that his own country, larger than the US, but with only a third of its people, needed population growth. "The more population we have in Brazil, the happier we are. This world can support many more people than are here now. . . . New fields and new discoveries in natural resources are being developed almost daily. . . ."

Nabuco's protest reflected the attitude of most other Latin-American delegates, and was borne out by statements of Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan.

One of the reasons why the birth-control theme was injected into the conference may have been the influence of its secretary-general, William Vogt, who this year wrote a viciously neo-Malthusian book, "Road to Survival."

The danger of soil erosion and depletion is only

too real. But this is not created by population pressure but by ignorance and get-rich-quick farming.

Colombia Catholic Social Crusade

IN BOGOTA, Columbia, the nation's Catholic hierarchy has inaugurated a new and vigorous "social crusade," reflecting in particular "the tragic events of last April," when riots interrupted the inter-American conference, and enmity toward communism. The Episcopal Conference of the nation stressed three principal points, according to NCWC reports printed in the diocesan press of this country.

1. Pastors and Catholic colleges are urged to start Catholic Action programs immediately, or to stimulate them if they already exist. . . . "The clergy amongst us is insufficient for the task."
2. The Institute of Social Studies for the Clergy, at the Pontifical Xaverian University, was established "to prepare properly priests in order to encourage and counsel social action through the study of the Church, social legislation, trade-unionism and co-operativism, social service, atheistic communism in its doctrine and methods."
3. Catholic colleges are reminded of their "duty to co-operate with the hierarchy in the solution of educational and social problems, and to this end are asked to operate evening and Sunday schools for workers and their children."

Setback for Colombia's Christian Unions

Bogota, 9/18 (CIP)—Colombia's energetic and fast-growing Christian labor union has suffered a sharp setback and is now fighting desperately for the right to exist. Under the title of the Union of Colombian Workers (UTC), the Christian labor organization was formed to counteract the Communist-dominated Confederation of Colombian Workers (CTC), which is affiliated with the Confederation of Workers of Latin America (CTAL) led by *Lombardo Toledano*. The Christian UTC was making good progress against its Communist rival until the latter was able to bring trial before the Supreme Court on the issue that only one central labor union has the legal right to exist in any one enterprise. In a surprising decision, the Colombian Supreme Court upheld the CTC contention. The result is that the Christian union apparently has been denied by the Supreme Court the legal right to exist. Where more than one association exists, it was held that the minority group must disband and its members rejoin the majority group. In particular, this means that the members of the Christian union must return to the Communist-dominated CTC.

The Christian union has so far refused to recognize the Court's ruling. It has submitted a long and detailed documented note, protesting against the "unconstitutional and totalitarian attitude" of the court, and strongly defending the right of trade-union liberty. The issue promises now to move from the legal to the political stage.

The violent opposition of the CTC against the Christian UTC was amply verified during the Bogota riots last spring. The CTC, after the outbreak, immediately sided with the rebels and called a general strike. During the violence that followed, the leaders of the Christian union were among those especially chosen for attack. Such treatment provides little incentive for the Christian union members to return to the CTC.

Books

A Study of Literature for Readers and Critics. David Daiches. Cornell University Press. \$2.75.

MR. DAICHES, Professor of English at Cornell University, disclaims any desire to write "only for his colleagues or for those who share his views." The audience he has in mind "is a sort of ideal 'common reader,'" though he hopes "that he does not prove too ideal, and that there are real examples of his kind." It is natural, perhaps, that a professor should write like a professor, and this, I fear, is likely to militate against securing the audience he desires, though it must be conceded that his book expresses intelligent views and is peppered with truths which would be well for the so-much-desired "common reader" to know.

The subjects Professor Daiches discusses in his book are problems of the modern critic, the literary use of language, the nature of fiction, the difference between art and craft, and other themes which throw a light on the modern attitude to the written word. Sensibly the author points to the difficulties of the authentic literary critic in having to judge books in a world, deprived of authority and standards. These difficulties are great even after you have differentiated between true literary criticism and mere book reviewing, though the good professor hardly does justice to the reviewers, some of whom, at any rate, do discriminate between books which may be judged as legitimate works of art and books which are just books, written for escape, entertainment, propaganda, information, and what not. This reference is naturally to novels, in which the disunity of our world is most clearly to be seen. It is scarcely to be disputed that "most people read because they have nothing better to do." They read "to escape boredom, to pass the time, or to escape into a world of wish fulfilment or excitement in which they can forget about the petty and often sordid details of a dull and unheroic life." This may be true as far as it goes, yet to leave out the phrase of wish fulfilment, does not the catalogue of the other functions here mentioned describe precisely the uses of real works of art as well as of spurious ones?

Quite obviously, if the author should desire to get at the truth, he would have to do more than discuss the "means" which he says are present and the "end" which he maintains is absent. He should have to go into the cause as well, and after that, what becomes of the function of literary criticism on which he dwells at some length? The fact is, if you discuss the surface and the aspiration to attain height, you inevitably cannot arrive at any adequate definition without investigating depth; you must also study the roots, and it is logical to suppose that the firmer and deeper the roots the greater the sturdiness and the height. Purely humanist criticism of the Irving Babbitt order, well-intentioned and commendable as it is, lacks something very essential to any fully coordinated discussion. Nowhere does Prof. Daiches think it worth his while to attribute any real importance to religion as a motivating force not to be dissociated from the work it directly or indirectly inspired. Thus, in the penultimate chapter on "Literature and Belief" we come upon this debatable statement:

A critic is, of course, perfectly free to defend Dante's or Milton's theology, but in doing so he is not acting

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in his capacity of literary critic. Moreover, it can be argued with some plausibility that the reader who is in literal agreement with such a writer as Dante or Milton or Bunyan is apt to interpret what he reads too narrowly and see it as a much less comprehensive and exciting work than it is in the eyes of the reader who comes to the author in order to read a work of imaginative literature. . . .

Is this cogent criticism? Really, who is more narrow and much less comprehensive—the reader who includes the source of the work's inspiration, the passion which informs it, and the object for which it was written, or the reader who rigidly excludes the main theme and narrows his interests down to literary distinction? The professor's argument here seems neither rational nor logical. It comes down to some basic facts, the heart of the matter, so to speak. Are we to judge the Sermon on the Mount as a purely literary achievement in which "the question of agreement or disagreement" with the author's beliefs "has been ruled out as irrelevant"? And what did Jesus mean when He said, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away?" Did He wish His words to be remembered purely in a poetic sense? Are we to ignore the sufferings of a human being, and gloat in the eloquence to which his suffering gives rise? It, somehow, doesn't make sense. The most ordinary reviewer would scarcely be guilty of such a mistake.

JOHN COUNOS

The Priest and the Proletariat. Robert Kothen. Sheed & Ward. \$1.50.

RECENTLY I talked with a priest who had returned from a three-month tour of observation in the Catholic Action centers of Europe, particularly in Belgium and France. He described the unforgettable experience of attending Mass in the home of Father Depierre, who is a moving spirit in the *Mission de Paris*. Father Depierre's home, in the heart of a working-class district, also is his church. There, at seven-thirty in the evening, a heterogeneous group of workers, including two or three Communists, grouped themselves informally about the plain table upon which Father Depierre offered the Holy Sacrifice.

Father Kothen in his little book of sixty-four pages, undertakes to explain the need for and the results of such scenes as this. He does so by calling to witness the men who are engaged in the work of the *Mission de Paris* and the *Missions de France* the French hierarchy's two-pronged effort to win back the masses to Christ. "The Priest and the Proletariat" is a skilful and a striking mosaic of testimony which gives a sharper picture of religion in contemporary France than many a bulkier volume. Of particular interest is the *Declaration of the Assembly of the Cardinals and Archbishops of France*, in which are concisely framed the principles underlying the apostolate to the de-Christianized masses.

Because the United States is a middle-class nation, with a middle-class priesthood ministering to a middle-class people, it is doubtful whether the techniques of the *Mission de Paris* could profitably be copied here, except in rare instances and isolated spots. One thing, however, we shall certainly profit by in time, from the labors of our French brethren: the re-invigoration of the Liturgy and the renewal of a Christian social conscience.

Already we are debtors to awakened Europe for the organized lay apostolate which is having a rapid and a

sturdy growth in this country. It is the apostolate of like-to-like—students to students, workers to workers, farmers to farmers. Small groups of young men and young women, with a common environment, are banding together for intensive personal formation and leadership training. Their objective is to launch an organized attack, each group in its own *milieu* on the secularism that pervades every phase of American life; their ultimate aim is the complete re-Christianization of today's pagan society.

Until now, the bottle-neck of specialized Catholic Action in the United States has been a lack of chaplains for the leaders' groups. Without a chaplain, such a group can easily degenerate into a glorified bull-session, or worse yet, bring discredit to the cause by misdirected zeal. The movement is so new in this country that few of the older generation of priests have a knowledge of its nature or technique. It is a situation that rapidly is being remedied as young priests come from our seminaries versed in the principles of the organized lay apostolate. During the past summer, six regional Seminarians' Catholic Action Study Weeks were held in as many parts of the country. It was my privilege to address the Midwest group in Covington, Kentucky, attended by eighty representatives of six seminaries. Certainly from such groups as these will come American counterparts of the valorous men whom the Abbé Kothen quotes so effectively in "The Priest and the Proletariat."

LEO J. TRESE.

Mirror for Americans: Japan. Helen Mears. Houghton. \$3.50.

PUBLIC preferences being what they are, "Mirror for Americans" will probably not be very widely read. And that is a great pity. For in this volume Helen Mears has advanced an argument which should be heard by anyone who is at all interested in either his own future, or that of the world.

Her thesis is simple in its statement. "Americans . . . appear not to realize that by officially setting out to 'reform' the Japanese according to our professed principles, we have put on trial, not the Japanese, but ourselves. . . . In reforming Japanese society, however, we proceeded on the odd thesis that whatever Americans did would be bound to be right. . . ." A moment's reflection upon these two statements will impel the reader along at least some of the paths followed by Miss Mears. Americans have started on the project of remaking Japan from the ground up. And they have, to a great extent, started this task with no better preparation than a set of generally incorrect opinions and prejudices about the Japanese. This fact alone is enough to make success questionable. But we have been guilty of further, and even greater mistakes. We have arbitrarily assumed that what is good for America is automatically good for Japan. Socially speaking, few things could be further from the truth. To add to the confusion, this reformation is being carried out under conditions of such centralized power that very often policies affecting millions of people are little more than the personal opinions of some individual. And personal opinions on social, economic and political questions are notoriously subject to differences.

The results thus far have been amazing. Amazing because even now, after three years of occupation, there are still millions of Japanese who have no idea of what we are trying to do. And these same Japanese, and

with them an observant Asia, are rapidly coming to the conclusion that we have no more idea of what we are trying to do than they. In our trial of Japan we are finding ourselves guilty. The dangers of this are many, and terrifying.

Unfortunately, "Mirror for Americans" is not precisely easy reading. Miss Mears at times allows her convictions to get the better of her technical abilities. As a result her arguments are often a little fuzzy, with a multitude of loose ends left lying. The general impression one gets is not of a well-finished and logically presented piece of argumentative writing. Rather the impression is of a mountain of miscellaneous information, with occasional notes inserted by way of directions. The result is a little overwhelming, but nonetheless convincing.

In spite of her technical imperfections, Miss Mears deserves a great deal of credit for her book. In it she has presented the first truly critical, yet non-sensational, evaluation of American policy in Japan to be published since the war. And if, after finishing what she has to say, the reader feels in need of further convincing, it might be well to reflect that her opinions are shared by the great majority of the more perceptive men who have had any part in the occupation. Japan is truly, as Miss Mears says, a mirror for Americans—of, to a great extent, our own shortcomings.

JAMES O. FREDERICK

The Precipice. Hugh MacLennan. Duell. \$3.00.

IT IS nice to come across an author who, one feels, with a quiet honesty lays an accurate finger upon many a root of our 20th century emotional disorganization. Hugh MacLennan is the author of two previous novels, of which "Two Solitudes" was especially noted for its craftsmanship and originality. His third novel should disappoint no one.

Starting in 1938, Mr. MacLennan writes now of Lucy Cameron, a lonely and mature girl in her late twenties, living in a small town on the Canadian side of Lake Ontario ("where the Scotch-Irish are chocolate-brown with Calvinism"), and of her marriage to an attractive and self-confident American, Stephen Lassiter. Lucy is transplanted from quiet, narrow-minded Grenville to New York City where her husband (who has allowed himself to be deflected from his desire to become an engineer) works in the epitome of an advertising agency. They plan to save enough money so that he can study for another year at M.I.T., the depression having set him to breadwinning before his training was complete, but somehow the plan never materializes.

Lucy is transplanted from the stagnant problems of Grenville to the vast, corded enigmas of metropolitan life. For a while her marriage is a happy one. Then, as time passes and the war begins and Stephen's attempts to get into active service are thwarted, he becomes increasingly dissatisfied with himself and his work. This soon develops into the slow and joyless estrangement of husband and wife and the disintegration of a marriage where the two seem caught in separate mazes of hidden anxiety and neither one can help the other. "Was there any loneliness in the world comparable to the kind that can exist between two who love one another?"

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response to it; she sees his psychological heritage as it affects his rôle in the scheme of things. She is then able really to accept him as a person, not just a husband whom she loves and needs.

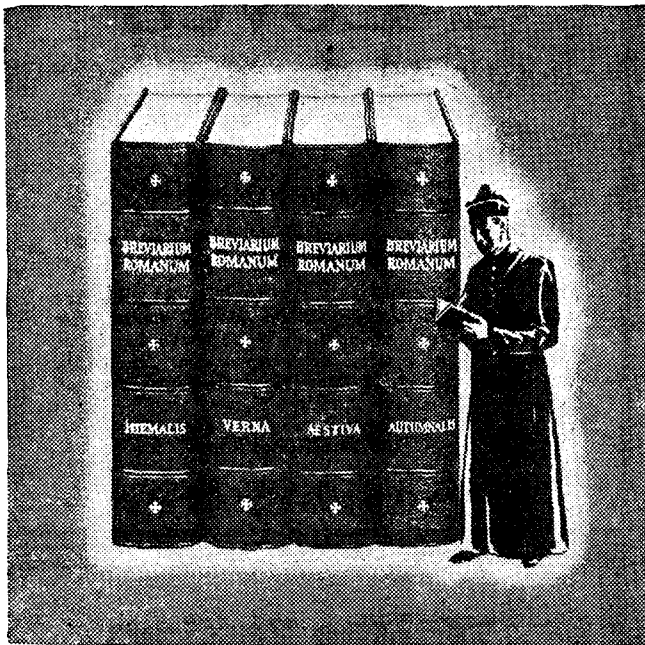
Most pleasant to record is that insight has not jaundiced Mr. MacLennan's eye. He maintains a knowing, a humorous and a loving eye upon Jane, Lucy's elder sister and a spinster, and her desire to keep the female Cameron household exempt from any possible criticism from the outside world; and upon well-meaning and beautiful Marcia, who knows all the answers but is childless and thrice-married and joins the Church because Father

Donovan "gave her hope"; upon Carl Bratian, sinister and successful head of the advertising agency who "derived a satisfaction that was almost savage from the age of anxiety in which he lived"; upon Stephen, who believed completely that "efficiency bred power on the American plan"; upon Lucy, who, when Stephen found her, had the "prevailing expression of a woman who has never been recognized by others for what she knows herself to be"; and upon Bruce Fraser, Lucy's next door neighbor, a small town boy who becomes cosmopolitanized via journalism.

But to this reviewer, being English-born, the book's chief significance lies in the following: we admit that a human being who happens to be an American faces life quite differently from a human being who happens to be English, or Canadian. Lucy, who at the beginning of her marriage has a strong conscious sense of Canadianism as opposed to Stephen's unconscious Americanism, obliterates these boundaries and becomes, within the limits of her circumstances, a practicing member of the human race.

The style is the well-balanced, muscular kind which sets up a fairly magnetic field between reader and printed page. The author has an unsentimental, warm and penetrating touch. The women are especially well portrayed. The reader will not escape from the world in this novel. He will find interesting and revealing data about many people he knows. He will find, too, that some of the ever-recurring sadness of our modern life is rather well accounted for; and lastly he will find that, like life, this book is too real to be brilliant.

VIRGINIA BENNETT



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